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Signs of the times: College students march in Orangeburg, S.C.

Above: Sitdown protest at lunch counter in Chattanooga. Later white youths attacked the demonstrators. Right: Howard students pray near the Capitol for good civil rights law.

Stand up!

THERE IS A NEW SPIRIT abroad in the land which ought by all rights to stir the conscience of every white American who cherishes the principles of liberty and equality. The lunch counter sitdown strike by young Negroes in the South—with the participation of young white students both North and South—is not an isolated phenomenon. It is not another Montgomery walk-for-freedom protest, glorious as that was, nor a Washington demonstration for civil rights. It is a widespread, inspired, self-organized movement by a new generation which knows that it has a mental and physical ghetto to lose and a world to gain. A clergyman who led a quiet group of Negroes into a hostile crowd in Montgomery, Alabama, last week said: "In my mind, I had given up everything—my wife, my children, my life."

This is the dedication. And no amount of jeering, spitting and smashing by sloppy, slack-jawed hoodlums, egged on by the dregs of the Southern past, will kill it. It has happened—the culmination of generations of frustrated anger, indignation, deprivation and wanton murder. The coming to liberation of the colored peoples of the world, the example of Asia and Africa, has been absorbed by the colored people of America and joined with their own heroic struggle. **(See pages 6-7).**

THIS IS A TIME of glorious opportunity which has been understood mainly in two areas—by the young Negroes and by their age-old oppressors. For the one, the lunch-counter is a symbol that will become an unsegregated school, a decent home, a seat up front in a bus, a job without a broom, a desk in a state capitol. For the other the symbol is the filibuster, the jimcrow car, the tin-roofed shack, the insult, the rope, a "way of life" long past its time.

These latter, it is said, are a minority. If this is the case, then where is the majority and its leaders, the decent white America about which we speak as a sop to our slattern conscience?

If the President has the will and the energy to travel through Latin America to tell its people of our devotion to freedom, why does he not have the will to leave the jimcrow golf course at Augusta to tour the South with the same message?

Where are the great white liberal voices of the nation? Where are the candidates for the Presidency? Why has only Hubert Humphrey spoken out? Has the Madison Avenue cat got the Vice President's tongue?

Where are the leaders of labor? Why is it that George Meany can make an impassioned plea for "social and political freedom" for the people of Czechoslovakia at the drop of an anniversary, but have neither time nor desire to lift a good old-fashioned picket sign in front of a Woolworth store in the interest of social freedom for his colored countrymen?

Where, indeed, are we all? The majority of decent white Americans who have looked with horror at our TV screens showing the KKK carved on a man's stomach; who have collected clothing for needy sharecroppers; who have prided ourselves on having no prejudices while we have no inkling of the torment in the soul of a black brother? Is it not time for us all to come out from behind the uncomfortable smugness of the lily-white world?

IT IS TIME FOR US TO SAY to the colored people of America: You have shown us the meaning of courage. Take our hand and give us the courage to help rid the land of this blight. You have had carried the white man's burden too long.

We can begin by joining the splendid Negro students on the line; by writing to our Senators and Congressmen and telling them exactly how we feel about the obscene spectacle in the Congress of our country; by writing letters to our local papers and encouraging the protest and discouraging the spending of money in stores, North and South, owned by the practitioners of jimcrow.

This we can do—and thereby begin to gain, as Louis E. Burnham wrote in his last GUARDIAN article before his death, "nothing less than a new nation."

—THE EDITORS

In this issue

OUR OWN HORN
Report to Readers . . . . . p. 2
CONGRESS SELL-OUT
On civil rights . . . . p. 3
IKE'S LATIN AMERICA
And the real thing . . . . . p. 4
WALTER'S BIRD DOG
Richard Arens at work . . p. 5
UPHAUS ON HOCKING
A philosophical review p. 9
EYEWITNESS IN CUBA
See the Spectator . . . . . p. 12

THE MAIL BAG

For Willard Uphaus

BOSTON, MASS.

In your Report to Readers (March 7) you ask for letters to Gov. Powell of New Hampshire urging him to free Willard Uphaus. Let's staighten out the legal technicalities: Gov. Powell has no power of pardon in this contempt of court case. Only one person can release Dr. Uphaus, and letters should go to him: Judge George R. Grant Jr., Merrimack County Superior Court, Concord, N. H. Letters about Hugo (not Hugh) De Gregory go to Gov. Powell.

Florence Luscomb

The Kerala story

NORTH GRANBY, CONN.

I was astounded to see even in the NATIONAL GUARDIAN an editorial-type of news write-up on the Kerala election, biased, dogmatic and lacking full truth. I congratulate you on your evident mastery of the Madison Avenue technique.

What's wrong with a "gang-up" of parties? Was it not a coalition of forces that put Marcantonio in power? Was it not a gang-up of 60 CPs and five independents that put the CP "gang" in power? Am I to understand the activity is a coalition when you approve and a "gang-up" when you don't?

No amount of whitewashing can make the CP lily-white-without-a-fault, nor can any amount of shoe-blacking make the opposition blacky-black without hope of redemption.

Were not the CP tactics crude and somewhat devilish? Did they not smack of "to the victor belongs the spoils"? Was their use of the Treasury funds absolutely honest?

To an ignorant innocent bystander, it would seem that Tammany-McCarthy-Nixon political tactics played too prominent a part in CP overseas strategy.

Herman C. Patt

(1) The phrase "gang-up" was used in the sense that the Congress, Praja Socialist and Moslem League parties had no other cement to bind them than their negative anti-Communist phobia; a "coalition" usually implies a minimum worthy goal shared in common by those who join, as the five Independents by word and deed shared with CP representatives in the previous Kerala government. (2) The GUARDIAN carried eye-witness accounts of the popular, constructive measures of Kerala's CP government by Tabitha Petran in 1957, by Cedric Belfrage in 1958-59; and GUARDIAN staff correspondent Narendra Goyal noted in his articles (Aug. 17, 24, 1959) that many conservative and even anti-Communist political leaders and newspapers in India condemned New Delhi's suspension of Kerala's CP administration. (3) The GUARDIAN has not come across in either the Indian or the American conservative press any accusation — much less documentation—of such corrupt election maneuvers as Mr. Patt attributes to the Kerala CP. On the contrary, they all seemed impressed by the increased popular vote for CP candidates in Kerala's last election.—Editor.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

ATLANTA, Feb. 9—(AP)—The Welfare Committee of the Georgia House yesterday killed a bill which would have permitted eviction of the dead from their graves for non-payment on cemetery lots.

—**The Evening Bulletin**
Phila, Pa. Feb. 9, 1960

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: F.A., Phila., Pa.

The Big Seven

PARK RIDGE, ILL.

In an article in the GUARDIAN (Feb. 8) regarding "Oil From the Sahara Desert," your Paris correspondent speaks of "the Big Seven" concerned with the distribution of the non-Soviet oil. Will you please tell me the names of those "Big Seven"?

Jessie L. Sherwood

The Big Seven of the oil industry, in order of their assets, are: Standard Oil of New Jersey; Royal Dutch/Shell; Socony-Vacuum; Gulf; Texaco; Standard of California, and British Petroleum (formerly Anglo-Iranian). Editor

Housing problem

YONKERS, N.Y.

I am a high school student and a reader of your first-rate paper. Recently two elderly sisters hanged themselves because their house was to be demolished this coming summer. This took place in a part of New York City where many houses are scheduled to be torn down this year.

One of the most vital problems to the people who live there, is the luxury housing that is going up in its place with rents from $75 to $100 per month per room. The housing that these old ladies lived in rented for $30 to $50 per month for two to four rooms.

It was later revealed that these sisters (who were domestic workers) had a bank account of about $62,000 between them which they had scrimped to save all their lives. Even with such a reserve, these old ladies were unable to face being uprooted. One can therefore imagine the effect on the more unfortunate thousands who do not have any reserve funds. It is time that landlords were made responsible!

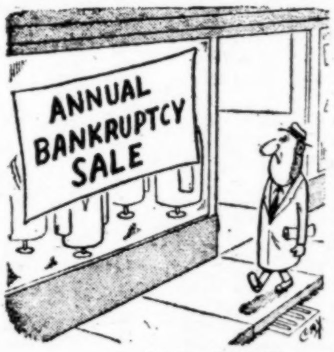
Jim Hawley

Of the tragic suicides of Helen and Margaret Horvath, the Yorkville Save-Our Homes Committee said:

"We understand that many people reading the story, noting that these women had more than $60,000 in the bank, must have dismissed the incident as the result of eccentricity. But for us, there can be no such simple explanation.

"In Yorkville in the past nine years more than 15,000 families have been made homeless from apartments renting for $30, $40, $50 a month to permit building of apartments renting for $150, $250, $300. We have too often heard elderly people finding greed and callousness wherever they turn, cry out: 'Why don't they just kill us!'

"For the Horvath sisters this cry of anguish was more than rhetoric." Editor.



London Daily Mirror

What's the secret

CHICAGO, ILL.

Barrows Dunham's review of the TV program "The Secret of Freedom" (Feb. 22) interested me. I, a poor ordinary progressive (small "p"), enjoyed the program and felt the average viewer might have gained something important from it. It showed the progress of Russian schools and, though deriding it here and there, the facts had their own pointed effect, I happen to believe.

And, at the end, I rather got the feeling (Kim Hunter's shorts notwithstanding) that democracy and freedom had to be fought for by those, like Tony in the play, who were bothered by complacency.

Am I just dumb to so disagree with Barrows Dunham?

N. Saron

Mendocino Growler

POTTER VALLEY, CALIF.

Going to try something entirely different here. Going to set up a local paper by going to every home and business in this County soliciting ads, subs, news items in the major centers, Willits, Fort Bragg and Ukiah. Population of 134,000; I figure on two or three thousand subs.

The paper will actively campaign for civil rights, civil liberties, against testing, for a disarmed world, China recognition, for a third party, pro-labor, etc. Quite an experiment. Will also carry farm market news, West Coast lumberman reports on production, shipment. A column, "It's Your Business," for the small biz man; another column, "Political Flapdoodle"; still another called "Growlers Column." Name of the paper will be the Mendocino **Growler** (it's gonna bite, too!) We'll staple pages on side as in a magazine and should be quite the novelty paper. Oh yes, am going to come out flatfooted for Herbert Holdridge for President, thereby contributing to the existing confusion.

Tom Scribner,
Rt. 1 Box 246B

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

LABOR'S BIGGEST WORRY is the boss. That single truth, stated majestically by John L. Lewis, shocked some union leaders engaged in running warfare with their rank and file.

Lewis made his point in a letter to Philip Murray, president of the CIO and the United Steelworkers. He asked for "a mutual aid pact for common defense." He began his invitation this way: "During recent months each of our great unions has been engaged in a major conflict with the most powerful associated group of financial interests in America. The idea seems increasingly prevalent in industrial and financial circles that our great industrial unions should be attacked and crippled one by one. This idea should be knocked on the head."

Lewis talked from strength. The Mine Workers had demonstrated, for all the country to see, the impotence of Taft-Hartley when faced with the solidarity of workingmen. To miners the demonstration paid off in a raise of 70c a day, an increase in the welfare fund of 30c a ton, and union security. No union battling its rank and file had chalked up a record remotely comparable.

John L. Lewis had further embarrassed the powers of CIO by offering to lend the striking CIO United Auto Workers at Chrysler $1,000,000. The specter of solidarity frightened them.

UAW president Walter Reuther rejected the offer, explaining that his union could accept only gifts. Philip Murray said "no useful purpose could be served" by such a pact.

—From the National Guardian, March 22, 1950

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EDITORIAL STAFF: Lawrence Emery, Kumar Goshal, Robert E. Light, Dorothy Miller, Russ Nixon (Washington), Tabitha Petran, Robert Joyce (Art), David Reif (Art Library). LIBRARIAN: Jean Norrington. CIRCULATION: George Evans, PROMOTION: Norval D. Welch. ADVERTISING and BUYING SERVICE: Lillian Kolt. GUARDIAN EVENTS: Theodora Peck. FOREIGN BUREAUS: Cedric Belfrage (London), Anne Bauer (Paris), George Wheeler (Prague), W. G. Burchett (Moscow), Anna Louise Strong (Peking), Narendra Goyal (New Delhi), Ursula Wassermann (roving correspondent). NORTHERN CALIFORNIA representative: Clarence Vickland, 3936 Canon Ave., Oakland 2, Calif. Phone: KE 3-7776.

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REPORT TO READERS

Our own horn

WE POINT WITH PRIDE to this issue of the GUARDIAN, with its comprehensive word-and-picture coverage of the great, national protest against jimcrow sparked by the Negro students of the South; and, while we're pointing, we may as well say right here that we have had that feeling of hitting the ball with zing and regularity ever since last summer and fall, beginning with Kumar Goshal's eye-witness reports from Cuba at the time of its first July 26 celebration, and Jim Aronson's notable cross-country journey with K & Co.

In addition to the sit-down story and pictures on pages one, six and seven, this issue takes you behind the scenes at the civil rights sell-out in Congress (p. 3). We gleefully join in lowering the boom on Richard Arens, the House Un-American Activities Committee's staff director (p. 5). Two fighting leaders grace our pages, Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth in an interview on p. 8 and Dr. Willard Uphaus with a review of Prof. William Ernest Hocking's new book, **Strength of Men and Nations** on p. 9. And the Spectator (p. 12) goes to Cuba through the youthful eyes of contributor Joanne Grant.

WE EARNESTLY SUGGEST that this issue of the GUARDIAN should be placed in the hands of a prospective reader and subscriber when you have finished with it. We need the new readers; they need the kind of material that this week's GUARDIAN teems with—news behind the news, the stories they can't get from local papers, and the stimulus us tiring oldsters are bound to get from knowing that American youth is up and doing big things about our democracy's most grievous fault.

We can't really expect you to save back issues of the GUARDIAN for promising new subscribers, but if you save them, we certainly recommend last week's (Mar. 14) for its center-spread on Spain and among other special attributes, Tabitha Petran's analysis from Baghdad of Iraq's imperiled land-reform program, and Wilfred Burchett's absorbing account of Moscow's "quiet revolution" in taste.

Our Negro History Week issue (Feb. 15) prepared by Louis E. Burnham and containing his last GUARDIAN article, on the struggle of the Negro in America today, is another excellent paper to hand to a friend if you still have it on hand. Similarly, our issues of Jan. 25, Feb. 1 and Feb. 8, detailing the revival of Nazi anti-Semitism in the Adenauer government, were especially timely hand-around issues.

WE USED TO HEAR that the GUARDIAN was long on foreign coverage, but short on such aspects of the home scene as Washington and labor. In both these connections, we think our GUARDIAN has been strengthened greatly since the opening of the 1960 Congress by the reporting from Washington of Russ Nixon, who is the legislative representative there for the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union (UE). In other ways, too, we have been working toward a better balance of domestic and foreign coverage, as the stories and series by Robert E. Light, Frank Bellamy and others on such home-front concerns as fall-out, disposal of atomic waste, the drug inquiries, needed Post Office and Immigration Service reforms and other such subjects indicate.

WE CAN'T PREVIEW the news breaks of the future, but we can now give you a preview of some GUARDIAN departmental plans for the near future. During the next month we will include with one issue of the GUARDIAN a special 4-page Record Catalogue for our thousands of folksay and hi-fi fans; and in early May we will have a Travel & Resort section with summer ideas galore.

In mid-May, the GUARDIAN's first tour abroad takes off—our 45-day jaunt through Europe and the U.S.S.R. conducted by London County Councillor Peggy Middleton (still a few reservations left, better write now if you want to be included in.) Later, in mid-summer, we plan a shorter, less costly tour to the U.S.S.R.

NOW, OUR EXCITING NOTE for Cuba fans:

Tentatively scheduled to take off by Cubana Airlines on July 23, we are planning a two-week good-will visit to Cuba, timed to be on hand for the July 26 celebration to be held this year in Santiago, thence to Havana for a week of sight-seeing, winding up with a few days of sunning at world-famous Varadero Beach. We think we can swing it for $300 or less, including all travel, meals and hotels, figured from New York as the point of take-off and return. We are trying to work out ways to include West Coast and midland guests at not too much greater cost. Talk it over at dinner tonight, coast-to-coast. Let us know right away if you are interested. We can tell you now that Cuba is very much interested in having well-wishing Americans help celebrate July 26.

—THE GUARDIAN

ANTI-CLIMAX IN CONGRESS

The civil rights sell-out: Law with teeth is doomed

By Russ Nixon
Guardian staff correspondent

WASHINGTON

DIXIECRAT EXECUTIONERS have turned the body of civil rights over to the Congressional undertaking firm of Johnson, Dirksen & Rayburn for burial. The Senate Democratic leader, Lyndon Johnson (Tex.), and the Republican leader, Everett McKinley Dirksen (Ill.), are now holding a family conference about the wording of the epitaph. Still on guard, the pallbearing filibusterers, led by Sen. Richard Russell (D-Ga.), are confident that after 258 hours of talk in four weeks they have killed the chances for a meaningful civil rights bill in 1960.

Speaker Sam Rayburn (D-Tex.) is all set to rule out as not "germane" any strengthening amendments to the weak bill before the House and deliver a civil rights package to the Senate that will be "acceptable to the South."

The real issues before Congress in the 1960 civil rights fight are (1) Federal protections for Negroes against deprivation of the right to vote; (2) school segregation; (3) discrimination in government employment. This is the way the issues break down:

VOTING RIGHTS: The Fifteenth Amendment (March 30, 1870) to the Constitution guarantees the right to vote regardless of race or color and authorizes Congress to enforce the provision. The Civil Rights Act of 1957 empowered the U.S. Attorney General to initiate civil suits against violation of voting rights.

Herblock, Washington Post

The Civil Rights Commission established by the 1957 law found widespread denials of the right to vote, and concluded that "legislation presently on the books is inadequate to assure that all our qualified citizens . . . enjoy the right to vote." The Commission proposed additional enforcement legislation, including Presidential appointment of Federal vote registrars when necessary.

The President refused to endorse the registrar proposal. After four months the Administration, through Attorney General William P. Rogers, proposed a plan for court-appointed vote referees. This would shift responsibility for enforcing the right to vote from the Executive branch to the courts. Critics say this process would be disastrously complex, costly and slow.

The Dirksen bill which embodies the Administration's civil rights proposals last week was the pending legislation before the Senate. It provided for court-appointed vote referees and prohibited destruction of state voting and registration records. Sen. Russell indicated the Dixiecrats might accept something like this (little more than a rewrite of the 1957 act), especially if enforcement were left to Southern courts.

SEGREGATION: Federal support and protection of school desegregation and other rights of Negroes is the real core of controversy. On this the Dixiecrats are uncompromising. The Fourteenth Amendment (July 28, 1868) guaranteed equal protection of the laws and authorized Congress to enforce it. This is the basis of the Supreme Court decisions against segregation in schools and other private facilities.

A "Title III" in the Administration's 1957 civil rights bill authorized the Attorney General to institute civil suits against **all** civil rights violations under both the 14th and 15th Amendments. But the Senate voted 52 to 38 to limit this power to voting rights violations, thus excluding such Federal action in school segregation cases, etc. In 1959 the Administration dropped its support of Title III. Now HR 3147, sponsored by House Judiciary Committee Chairman Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.), and S-810, cosponsored by Sens. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.), Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.), and 15 other Senators, would restore Title III.

The Dirksen bill made it a Federal crime to interfere with or obstruct a court order in school segregation cases. It also declared that the Constitution, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, "is the supreme law of the land," and authorized Congressional appropriations to help school districts to desegregate.

EMPLOYMENT: Finally, the Dirksen bill established a "Commission on Equal Job Opportunities" with legal power to eliminate racial discrimination in hiring workers on Federal projects. This was a start towards a Federal FEPC.

The Administration-Dirksen bill also would make it a Federal crime to cross state lines to avoid prosecution for bombing schools or churches, and provided for special schools for military and other Federal personnel in areas where regular schools were closed by a desegregation dispute.

The emasculated bill (HR 8601) reported to the House deleted from the Administration package the provisions for help in desegregating school district, the job discrimination clauses and the voting referees. It is specifically provided, however, that the referee provision, as contained in the Dirksen bill, would be offered as an amendment to the House bill.

THE CLOTURE VOTE: The filibuster tapered off March 8 when 31 Senators signed a petition for a cloture vote to end the talkfest. The move, called "premature" by Johnson and Dirksen, was pushed by Douglas and Javits and others as a preliminary move to stymie behind-the-scenes emasculation of the Dirksen bill. The necessary two-thirds vote of 64 was not expected, but the fact that the move got less than a majority, 42, was a real defeat. With 53 opposing cloture, the claims that a minority of the Senate was blocking majority action went down the drain.

Riding this victory, Johnson moved at once to scuttle the proposals to restore Title III and give the Attorney General new power. His motion to kill Title III carried by 55 to 38.

Art Sloggatt, New York Mirror
"This trip gets tougher every year!"

These were the decisive votes. They showed supporters of civil rights to be a minority in the Senate. Analysis of the votes reveals the combination that blocks Senate action. Except for Kentucky all the Senators from Southern states voted against civil rights. This includes Kefauver and Gore of Tennessee, Johnson and Yarborough of Texas, and Monroney and Kerr of Oklahoma—none of whom had joined the filibuster. Nine non-Southern Democrats voted against cloture. They were Alan Bible and Howard W. Cannon (Nev.), Robert C. Byrd (W. Va.), J. Allen Frear (Del.), Theodore Green (R.I.), Carl Hayden (Ariz.), Mike Mansfield (Mont.), James Murray (Mont.) and Joseph O'Mahoney (Wyo.). Twenty Republicans joined 33 Democrats to keep the filibuster going.

THE SHIFTS: On the pro-civil rights side, 30 Democrats and 12 Republicans voted to end the filibuster, and 10 Republicans joined 28 Democrats in support of Title III. Clinton Anderson and Dennis Chavez (D-N.M.), Gale W. McGee (D-Wyo.) Norris Cotton (R-N.H.), Thurston B. Morton (R-Ky.), and Leverett Saltonstall (R-Mass.), who had voted against the filibuster, shifted and voted against Title III. And Green, Cannon and Margaret Chase Smith (R-Me.), who had voted against cloture, voted for Title III.

Douglas said the 42 votes to limit debate "was a very good showing, considering the fact that we not only had the Southern and border states against us, but also the very determined and unrelenting opposition of both the majority leader and the minority leader." Other civil rights advocates had a less rosy view.

ANTI-BARRATRY: In the debate on Title III, Javits and Clark (D-Pa.) noted that several Southern states opposing Federal action against civil rights violations had also moved to prevent individual suits by passing anti-barratry laws. Such laws, Douglas said, "make it a penal offense for anyone outside the family to contribute financially to these persons or offer legal assistance."

Clark said the laws "prohibit citizens' groups from assisting citizens to protect their constitutional rights. These laws prevent such persons from obtaining counsel unless they are able to pay their lawyers without outside assistance." It was reported that such civil rights cases cost an average of $19,000, and that the average annual income of a Negro family in the South is $2,016. Javits said: "This is a case of loaded dice."

THE TWO LEADERS: Johnson launched the move to kill Title III; Dirksen made the closing speech against it. The vote was 38 for, 55 against. Michigan's Sen. McNamara said: "King Filibuster is winning again. He won in 1957, by threatening to use his power of delay; and the result was a so-called compromise civil rights bill, which was little more than a gesture. He is winning again this year, by actually using his filibustering power . . ."

After these two decisive Senate votes, the rest was anti-climax. On March 11, a tricky maneuver led to the elimination, by a 49 to 35 vote, of the Dirksen bill provision making it a Federal crime to obstruct school desegregation ordered by Federal courts. This was accomplished by an amendment by Sen. Frank J. Lausche (D-O.) to broaden the provision to cover court injunctions in labor cases. The result was the first significant lobbying activity by the AFL-CIO during the civil rights fight. It led to a combination of liberal-labor Senators and Dixiecrats voting to eliminate the provision entirely.

THE HOUSE LINEUP: The Senate was expected to mark time in the hope that the House would pass a bill weak enough to pass the Senate with little opposition.

On March 10 the House opened its civil rights debate. The agreement to take up civil rights was passed 312 to 93. Nine Republicans, including four from the North—Clarence E. Kilburn (N.Y.), Noah Mason (Ill.), Wint Smith (Kan.) and James B. Utt (Calif.)—voted with the Dixiecrats. Significantly Texas split, with nine of its 22 Congressmen voting against the Dixiecrats. The New York **Times** (March 12) reported that several Texans had refused to sign the Southern caucus resolution praising the Senate filibusterers. Seven of eight Kentucky Congressmen and the entire Oklahoma delegation left the Dixiecrats on this vote. All of the Tennessee delegation voted Dixiecrat.

The cloture vote

Following is the roll-call vote in which the Senate defeated a motion to invoke cloture.

FOR CLOTURE—42

Democrats—30

Anderson (N.M.)	Lausche (Ohio)
Bartlett (Alaska)	Long (Hawaii)
Carroll (Colo.)	Magnuson (Wash.)
Chavez (N.M.)	McCarthy (Minn.)
Church (Idaho)	McGee (Wyo.)
Clark (Pa.)	McNamara (Mich.)
Douglas (Ill.)	Morse (Ore.)
Engle (Calif.)	Moss (Utah)
Gruening (Alaska)	Muskie (Me.)
Hart (Mich.)	Pastore (R.I.)
Hartke (Ind.)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Hennings (Mo.)	Randolph (W.Va.)
Humphrey (Minn.)	Symington (Mo.)
Jackson (Wash.)	Williams (N.J.)
Kennedy (Mass.)	Young (Ohio)

Republicans—12

Allott (Colo).	Javits (N.Y.)
Beall (Md.)	Keating (N.Y.)
Bush (Conn.)	Kuchel (Calif).
Case (N.J.)	Morton (Ky.)
Cooper (Ky.)	Saltonstall (Mass.)
Cotton (N.H.)	Scott (Pa.)

AGAINST CLOTURE—53

Democrats—33

Bible (Nev.)	Kefauver (Tenn.)
Byrd (Va.)	Kerr (Okla.)
Byrd (W. Va.)	Long (La.)
Cannon (Nev.)	Mansfield (Mont.)
Eastland (Miss.)	McClelland (Ark.)
Ellender (La.)	Monroney (Okla.)
Ervin (N.C.)	Murray (Mont.)
Frear (Del.)	O'Mahoney (Wyo.)
Fulbright (Ark.)	Robertson (Va.)
Gore (Tenn.)	Russell (Ga.)
Green (R.I.)	Smathers (Fla.)
Hayden (Ariz.)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Hill (Ala.)	Stennis (Miss.)
Holland (Fla.)	Talmadge (Ga.)
Johnson (Tex.)	Thurmond (S.C.)
Johnston (S.C.)	Yarborough (Tex.)
Jordan (N.C.)	

Republicans—20

Aiken (Vt.)	Goldwater (Ariz.)
Bridges (N.H.)	Hickenlooper (Iowa)
Brunsdale (N.D.)	Hruska (Neb.)
Butler (Md.)	Martin (Iowa)
Capehart (Ind.)	Mundt (S.D.)
Carlson (Kan.)	Prouty (Vt.)
Case (S.D.)	Schoeppel (Kan.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Smith (Me.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Williams (Del.)
Dworshak (Idaho)	Young (N.D.)

Burnham memorial meeting April 28

A LOUIS E. BURNHAM Memorial Meeting has been scheduled for Thursday evening, April 28, at the New York Center, 227 W. 46th St., near Times Square in New York City.

A committee of Friends of Louis E. Burnham, including colleagues from the GUARDIAN, **Freedom** which he edited for seven years, the National Student Union, the Southern Negro Youth Conference, the Progressive Party and other of his activities, are arranging a program of testimonials to the life work of the GUARDIAN editor who died of a heart attack at 44 on the evening of Lincoln's Birthday while addressing a New York audience on Negro history.

A TRUST FUND is being established for the education and well-being of the four Burnham children. Author Shirley Graham (Mrs. W. E. B DuBois), George Murphy, long-time associate of Burnham's in Progressive Party and **Freedom** affairs; and John T. McManus, GUARDIAN general manager, will serve as trustees. Attorney John Abt will be counsel for the trusteeship. Contributions will be invited after the trustees and counsel have met to set up the trust agreement and establish a repository for funds.

Inquiries about the memorial meeting and the trust fund should be addressed to the GUARDIAN office.

THE NATIONS THAT IKE SAW, AND . . .

The Latin America that really exists

By Kumar Goshal

ON MARCH 8 President Eisenhower gave an optimistic report to the nation on his Latin American tour—and Cuban-American relations took a nose dive.

Eisenhower said he had found "a vast reservoir of respect and affection for the U.S." At the same time in Havana, Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa was protesting Secy. of State Herter's characterization of Premier Castro's reaction to the recent munitions ship explosion. Roa demanded that the U.S. lodge its protests "with absolute respect . . . without descending to offensive utterances of a personal character."

In his address, the President said:

- He was deeply "impressed" by examples of self-help, such as Chileans in a village building their homes themselves, with the government supplying the land and the utilities.
- He had reached the conclusion that "cooperation" among the Latin American lands was "the key to common progress," and that "agricultural and industrial diversification" and wider markets were the solution for their one-crop economy.
- Wherever he traveled he had "sought to correct [the] persistent misunderstanding . . . that we sometimes support dictators."
- The present "mutual security system" may "enable some of the American Republics to reduce the expenditure for armaments."
- The U.S., he had explained to Latin Americans, "consistently abided by the principle of non-intervention" but would not tolerate it "if a tyrannical form of government were imposed upon any of the Americas . . . by force, threat or subversion."

WHAT CUBA'S DOING: Eisenhower failed to note that much of the program he prescribed for Latin America was exactly what was being undertaken in Cuba. He also displayed a woeful lack of briefing—or understanding—in dismissing Latin America's heavy armaments burden by saying that "mutual security" treaties would alleviate it.

In Cuba's cooperatives former farm workers were enthusiastically demonstrating self-help by building their own homes, schools and modern roads, often

Mauldin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch
"This house needs more closet space."

with the aid of soldiers. The Agrarian Reform Institute was actively promoting agricultural diversification. Under the direction of Major Ernesto Guevara, the Central Planning Board was attempting to coordinate state-owned and private enterprises for a diversified industrial program aimed at doubling national production within a decade.

HOW THEY DO IT: Under the Cuban plan, as explained by Guevara, the government "undertakes the development of

Lone, Minneapolis Tribune
"So there I was . . . off the Coast of Argentina minding my own business. . ."

these basic industries: steel, metallurgy, power, fuel and heavy industry." Light industry would be left in private hands but "oriented" by the government. He explained "orientation" in these words to **Wall Street Journal** correspondent Cal Brumley (Feb. 24):

"We desire to employ [our] limited resources to greatest advantage and therefore prefer a textile industry to produce woolens and cloth rather than lace and nylon stockings."

This would seem to be the most intelligent and efficient way to promote the "diversification" recommended by the President. And if he really believes in "cooperation" among nations for "common progress," the President might have welcomed the Castro government's call for a conference of underdeveloped nations in Havana this fall and urged U.S. cooepartion. Instead, he opposed it.

WHAT DICTATORS? The President showed astonishing naivete or obtuseness in denying U.S. support of dictators. Washington today is supporting Franco in Spain, Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan, Ngo Dinh Diem in South Vietnam and Syngman Rhee in South Korea.

In Latin America, within recent memory, U.S. Ambassadors to Venezuela Fletcher Warren and Dempster McIntosh flaunted their friendship with Venezuelan dictator Perez Jimenez and his Gestapo chief, Col. Pedro Estrada. Eisenhower himself decorated Jimenez with the Order of Merit.

Since Jimenez was booted out of Venezuela and took up residence in Florida, the U.S., according to Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.), has refused visas to those "Venezuelans who were decent and courageous enough" to oppose him. In a report to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Feb. 25), Morse said U.S. security and intelligence agencies have been using blacklists of alleged Venezuelan communists supplied them by Col. Estrada.

PURCHASE OF ARMS: Some opponents of dictator Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic who managed to enter the U.S., have been assassinated. Carleton Beals noted about a year ago (**Liberation**, May 1959) that the New York police and Federal authorities harassed the Dominican exiles instead of "tracking down the murderers," and quashed attempts to clear up the kidnapping (and suspected murder) of Columbia University instructor and Trujillo critic, Dr. Jesus Galindez.

Sale of U.S. arms to Latin America has not only dissipated funds that might better have been used for national welfare, but has also helped maintain several dictators in power. Eleven of the 20 Latin American Republics annually spend nearly $1 billion to buy armaments. This year Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Peru plan to spend $501,000,000 (about 25% of their budgets) for outmoded weapons.

The sale of arms is actively promoted by the U.S., even among countries in conflict with one another. Drew Pearson reported (Feb. 29) that the U.S. naval mission urged Peru to buy more American submarines and the U.S. air attache urged Ecuador to buy more American jet fighters. The two countries have a long standing border dispute.

OPPORTUNITY MISSED: U.S. arms have been going steadily to dictators Somoza of Nicaragua, Stroessner of Paraguay (he spends 45% of the national budget on the armed forces and police) and to Trujillo. In overall military aid to Latin America, the U.S. is spending one-third more than last year, although Section 105 of the Mutual Security Act provides that the aggregate funds for 1960 to Latin America shall not exceed 1959.

Chile's President Jorge Allessandri has urged Latin American disarmament to provide more funds for raising the people's living standard. The **Washington Post** deplored Eisenhower's casual approach to this problem and said (March 9): "Here, surely, is an area where the President's words as a military man might have special weight and where he could give forceful backing to Chilean President Alessandri's call for hemisphere arms reductions."

NO CHANGE IN SIGHT: But the U.S. still seemed to be following the policy of business as usual and the big stick.

How else could one explain Under Secy. of State Douglas Dillon's emphasis before the Caribbean Assembly (March 1) on the benefits brought by U.S. private capital to Latin Americans? Many delegates to the Assembly interpreted this as "a veiled threat to cut back government aid unless better conditions were offered to private capital" (N.Y. **Times**, March 3).

How to explain also the U.S. military maneuvers in the Canal Zone and display of its capacity to airlift troops to Puerto Rico? These are sure to be taken by Cubans as omens of possible intervention and further aggravate Cuban-American relations.

Sympathy for Cuba is growing throughout Latin America, especially among students, teachers and progressive politicians. On March 3 in Venezuela, leaders of the younger wing of the Democratic Action, the Republican Democratic Union, the Social Christian and the Communist parties formed a Committee for Defense of the Cuban Revolution.

The trend in Latin America is increasingly toward the kind of planned economic development adopted by Cuba. That is why Sen. Morse urged in his report "less insistence on private enterprise to the exclusion of governmetal projects, more economic aid and less military aid."

L.A. Foreign Born group to hold conference April 2

THE LOS ANGELES Committee for Protection of Foreign Born will hold its 10th annual conference Saturday, April 2, at Larchmont Hall, 118 No. Larchmont Blvd.

The Rt. Rev. Walter Mitchell, honorary chairman of the Los Angeles Committee, and Rose Chernin, executive director, will speak at the morning session (10 a.m. to noon). During the afternoon session, (1 p.m. to 5 p.m.), Frank Lopez will speak on the committee's work among Mexicans, followed by a legislative report, resolution report, adoption of resolutions, and program of action. Rev. Stephen Fritchman will make the closing speech.

Information may be obtained by writing to the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 326 W. 3rd St., Los Angeles 13.

NEW YORK

A Friendly Tip to GUARDIAN Readers . . .

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UN-AMERICAN COMMITTEE DIRECTOR'S SIDELINE

Walter's bird-dog advises a racist too

By Lawrence Emery

FOR 14 YEARS Richard Arens has been a bird-dog for Congressional committees looking for birds that don't fly right. He started out with the Senate Internal Security subcommittee and is now staff director of the House Committee on Un-American Activities which last year paid him $16,409.98 for his sniffing.

On March 4 the York, Pa., **Gazette and Daily** revealed that he pads out his take-home pay with fees as an adviser to a multimillionaire New Yorker whose aim in life is to prove that Negroes are "genetically inferior" and should all be shipped back to Africa. The donor is Wycliffe Draper, heir to a Massachusetts textile machinery fortune, and Arens' job is to advise him on grants to researchers and writers in the fields of genetics and immigration. Leading geneticists are quoted as repudiating Draper and his beliefs.

WALTER'S "INVOLVED": Arens is reported to have admitted his role as adviser to Draper who, he said, also contributes money to "patriotic" organizations

Herblock, Washington Post
"Mmmm . . . chicken!"

fighting communism. Arens said he also advises H. L. Hunt, Texas oil zillionaire who backed the late Sen. Joe McCarthy, and Smith Richardson, a North Carolina pharmaceutical manufacturer interested in right-wing crusades.

The article asserts that committee chairman Francis E. Walter showed concern when informed of Arens' connections with Draper, but then reports an interview with Harry Wehyer, Draper's lawyer: "Wehyer, identified as an administrator of Draper grants, stated that he was 'uncertain about the details,' but that Representative Walter and Senator Eastland are 'involved' in the giving of Draper grants . . . Senator Eastland told the reporter he could not remember having had any connection with Draper."

The story also suggests that Aren's racist views include anti-Semitism: "In the extended interview, in which he cautioned he was not to be directly quoted, he made an emotional defense of the late Senator McCarthy, who he said was destroyed by left-wingers and by two untrustworthy aides, Roy Cohn and G. David Schine."

BRADEN PETITION: Arens' extra-curricular activities with Mr. Draper may help explain the Un-American Committee's active role against integrationist leaders in the battle for civil rights. A week after the Arens-Draper revelations were made, attorneys for Carl Braden, field secretary for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, filed a petition for a hearing before the Supreme Court of his conviction and one-year sentence for contempt because he refused to answer committee questions at a hearing in the South in 1958. The lawyers contended that his imprisonment would intensify the harrassment and jailing of white and Negro citizens advocating civil rights and civil liberties.

The petition also asks the court to rule on whether the committee can "use its subpena powers to stifle its critics." It cites the cases of Frank Wilkinson, Los Angeles civil liberties leader, and Harvey O'Connor, chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, both under contempt proceedings and both leaders in the campaign to abolish the committee.

The petition says: "This case is part of a recently developing pattern of the committee's use of its subpena power to stifle its critics . . . Petitioner's case presents for the first time in this court an issue critical to the democratic process —the extent of which Congress intended and the Constitution permits use of the subpena power against the sovereign people in retaliation for their expressed criticism of certain elected officials."

YELLIN CONVICTION: On the same day the Braden petition was filed, another victim of the committee was convicted of contempt and sentenced to a year in jail. He was Edward Yellin, an honor student

Mauldin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Foreign matter

and graduate fellow in engineering at the University of Illinois. He was tried before Federal Judge Luther Swygert in Hammond, Ind., for refusing to answer committee questions at a 1958 hearing in Gary, where he was then a worker in a steel mill.

The trial marked the first time that committee chairman Walter was brought to the witness stand under subpena to be questioned for an hour and a half by defense attorney Victor Rabinowitz. He contended that the committee's chief purpose was to "expose people for the sake of exposing them" and not to get information for drafting legislation. The Hammond **Times reported:** "Rep. Walter admitted, under questioning, that the committee engages in some activities that have no direct legislative purposes but maintained that most of the committee's work is aimed at producing legislation."

EMERSON TESTIMONY: Prof. Thomas I. Emerson, dean of Yale University Law School, an authority on constitutional law, testified at length on the legal issue of the government's right to seek information as against the constitutional guarantees of the individual's right to privacy. The judge ruled that his testimony be excluded from the trial record, but it will be considered by a higher court on appeal. Yellin remains free in $1,000 bail pending appeal, but his status as a student was in doubt last week.

Yellin is one of 36 First Amendment victims of the witch-hunt whose cases are now before the courts; four are presently serving jail sentences: Lloyd Barenblatt, New York instructor in psychology; Willard Uphaus, pacifist leader of New Hampshire; Dr. Chandler Davis, mathematician of Providence, R. I.; and Paul Rosenkranz, graduate student of Springfield, Mass.

Why she won't pay her tax

EROSEANNA ROBINSON, 35, a social worker and former track star (shown right being carried into the Chicago Federal Courthouse on Jan. 27 for a hearing on her refusal to file income tax returns) is serving a sentence of a year and a day in Cook County jail. She was offered her freedom earlier if she turns over her income tax reports and pays taxes. Miss Robinson, who has not filed an income tax form since 1954, said: "I am opposed to tax money being used for military and war purposes." She refused to walk and was brought to the Courthouse in a wheelchair.

On Feb. 4 she began a hunger strike to protest her sentence and, at last report, was being fed intravenously against her will at the Federal hospital.

Miss Robinson's co-workers commented that although they did not necessarily agree with her convictions or her methods, they were "united in sorrow over the incarceration of our friend and fellow worker."

A member of the anti-war group, Peacemakers, Miss Robinson refused to join an American track team which went to the Soviet Union because, she said, her presence would be false testimony that American Negroes have full rights and equality.

MEETING IN N.Y.

May Day is planned

A MAY DAY CELEBRATION in New York this year is the subject of a call issued by a provisional 1960 Labor and Peoples Committee for a conference March 19 at 1 p.m. in Room 9-B, Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave.

Addressed principally to trade unionists, community leaders and civil rights groups, the call stresses the need for organization behind the struggle of the Negro people for full equality; the campaign for a $1.50 minimum hourly wage in New York; and successful conclusion of the Summit conference to end nuclear testing and begin total world disarmament.

Unionists Jack Finn, distributive workers; Miriam Baumel, millinery workers; and Arthur Knight, textile workers, drafted the call. Address of the provisional May Day Committee is 130 E. 16th St., New York City.

You be first, Joe

CONGRESSMAN Joe Holt '47, writes from Washington: "I am disappointed in this session of Congress so far. Creeping socialism is continuing. Those who want the Federal government to run everything and everybody in America are making 'progress. HOW? By extravagant spending schemes that will make Federal bureaucratic control complete. It is time for deep thinking for all Americans."

—Southern California
Alumni Review

GENEVA ROADBLOCK

U. S. will make dread nerve gas at Indiana plant

THE U.S. next year will begin production of a nerve gas "1,000 times more potent than the dreaded German nerve gases" at a plant in Newport, Ind.

The new chemical agent, called V-Gas, was discovered accidentally by British scientists of Imperial Chemical Industries during experiments to find new insecticides. The British government, which signed the 1925 Geneva Convention renouncing chemical warfare, decided not to develop the new gas. Under a secrets exchange agreement it turned V-Gas over to the U.S., which did not sign the Geneva ban. Tests by American scientists, which proved the gas highly effective on animals, persuaded the Pentagon to begin manufacture.

The story came to light after the London **Daily Express** reported on March 7 that the gas was already in production at Newport. In denying the story to a London **Times** Washington correspondent, a Defense Dept. official let slip that the gas is scheduled to go into production next year.

THE ARGUMENTS: The **Express** reported that the Defense Dept. was pressing the White House to announce the stockpiling of V-Gas. Pentagon officials were using these arguments:

- Since the U.S.S.R. does not have V-Gas, an American stockpile would be a "powerful extra deterrent" to an H-bomb attack.
- American monopoly of V-Gas would counterbalance the Soviet advantage in rockets and missiles.
- It would provide an answer to Democrats who blame the Eisenhower Administration for the "missile gap."

The **Express** said that the British government was concerned that an announcement of an American V-Gas stockpile "may damage the prospects of Summit talks and may alienate neutral nations."

The paper pointed out the dangers to the Geneva disarmament talks: "The Russians are unlikely to agree about an inspection system to prevent atom tests unless work on the new poison gases is also curtailed."

Town's Newest Hit!

Lillian Hellman's

"TOYS IN THE ATTIC"

". . . the theater comes back to life . . ." —Richard Watts, N.Y. **Post**

". . . the splendor of straightforward, uncompromising writing . . ."—Walter Kerr, N.Y. **Herald Tribune**

". . . the acting is superb . . ."—Brooks Atkinson, N.Y. **Times**

GUARDIAN NIGHT

Friday, May 6

Call ORegon 3-3800

IN ALABAMA THEY SING: 'WE ARE NOT AFRAID'

America's angry young men and women embark on

By Robert E. Light

"THEY CAN'T send you back to Africa," a Negro student protest leader told a meeting at Alabama State College in Montgomery, "because we'll still be fighting over there for freedom." The audience sang back in chorus: "We are not afraid. We are not afraid."

Southern Negro students are not afraid but they are angry. The Washington **Post** said that they "are the angry young men and women of America." The anger of North Carolina A&T students led them to stage a sitdown demonstration in February against lunch counter discrimination at an F. W. Woolworth store in Greensboro.

The protests spread throughout the South against chain variety stores. In less than two months they were no longer confined to demands for equal treatment at lunch counters, but had grown into a full-scale offensive against discrimination in all forms. "Sitdown Now A Crusade," the Baltimore **Afro-American** headlined its story March 12.

CAN'T KEEP COUNT: The crusade has included sitdowns, picket lines and meetings in more than 50 cities in nine Southern states. The New York headquarters of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) said that demonstrations have started spontaneously in so many places it is hard to keep count. Although the emphasis has been on jimcrow in eating places, demonstrations have protested segregated public housing (Norfolk, Va.); jimcrow library facilities (Petersburg, Va.) and segregated movies (Bluefield, W.Va.). The protests have also stimulated the campaign for Negroes to register to vote. In Fayette County, Tenn., more Negroes than ever before (mostly farmers) have registered although an ordinance prohibits non-whites from voting in the Democratic primary.

The movement has been organized and led by Negro students, but the rest of the Negro community has joined readily. The students are dedicated to passive protest and what violence has occurred has come from racist whites and, in some cases, from police.

Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., spiritual leader of the crusade, explained that "the students are showing they are fed up with the slow pace of desegregation." A letter in the **Afro-American** asked: "Are we so stupid to believe that we can educate on college level any people and then expect them to continue to permit themselves to be treated as outcasts?"

"WE WON'T WAIT": But the students seemed to speak best for themselves. The Atlanta University Center, representing students in six Negro colleges in Georgia, took a full-page advertisement in the Atlanta **Constitution** March 9 to announce their determination to seek equality.

"We do not intend to wait placidly for those rights which are already legally and morally ours to be meted out to us one at a time. Today's youth will not sit by submissively while being denied all the rights, privileges, jobs and joys of life.

"We want to state clearly and unequivocally that we cannot tolerate, in a nation professing democracy among people professing Christianity, the discriminatory conditions under which the Negro is living in Atlanta, Ga.—supposedly one of the most progressive cities of the South."

The ad also pointed out:

- In higher education the state spends 16 times as much on white students as it does on Negroes and Negroes are not admitted to the University of Georgia or Georgia Tech.
- Negroes are discriminated against in obtaining city, state and Federal jobs "except in the most menial capacities."
- "While Negroes constitute 32% of the population of Atlanta, they are forced to live within 16% of the area of the city."
- Voting opportunities are consistently denied. "Negro college students are declared unqualified to vote and are not permitted to register."
- Hospital facilities for Negroes in Georgia are "unequal and totally inadequate."
- Negroes are barred from movies, concerts and restaurants and must sit in a segregated section of the Atlanta Municipal Auditorium.
- If a Negro is hungry, his hunger must wait until he comes to a Negro restaurant and his thirst must await a Negro fountain.
- "Our churches, which are ordained by God and claim to be the houses of all people, foster segregation of the races to the point of making Sunday the most segregated day of the week."

TIME TO ACT: The time has come, the ad concluded, for the white people of Georgia to look at the real situation and stop believing that all is fine and equal and that the Negro is happy and satisfied. The students called on the South's white citizens to assert themselves and "abolish these injustices."

The students' determination can be measured by their battle cry, "Fill the jails," taken from a speech by Rev. King last month when he told Negro students that they must be prepared to "fill up the jails of the South . . . to arouse the dozing conscience of our nation." NAACP president Roy Wilkins echoed King's advice in a speech in Dallas, Tex.

But in all the protests non-violence has been the watchword. Before going on demonstrations, the students have rehearsed their parts. Often, one student played devil's advocate and hurled vile epithets at the others to test their reactions. Students who could not stand the insults were asked to stay home.

THE HOTHEADS: Whites have not always answered in kind. About 400 persons have been arrested in protest actions arising, in most cases, from violence or threat of violence from whites. In Houston, Tex., Felton Turner, Negro, was alone on a deserted street when four white men carrying guns forced him into their car. They drove off to the country where they beat him with a tire chain, scratched "KKK" on his body with a penknife and hanged him by his heels to a tree. Their action was in retaliation for a sitdown protest by Negro students in four Houston lunch counters.

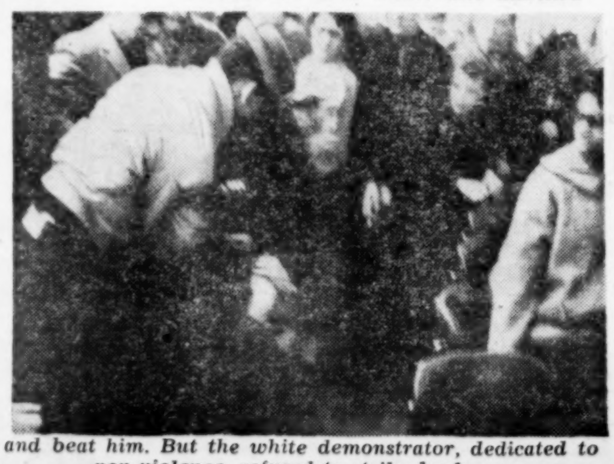
In Montgomery, Ala., Negro students have rocked the "cradle of the Confederacy." More than 1,000 students from Alabama State College demonstrated in silence, broken only by the singing of the national anthem and the recitation of the Lord's Prayer, before the giant statue of Jefferson Davis in front of the state capitol This followed a sitdown demonstration in the county courthouse lunchroom by 35 students. In retaliation, the white Board of Education forced the expulsion of nine students from the state-supported school. Police and racists broke up a scheduled prayer meeting.

APPEAL TO IKE: Police also marched

GREENSBORO, N. C.: WHERE THE LUNCH COUNTER SITDOWN DEMONSTRA

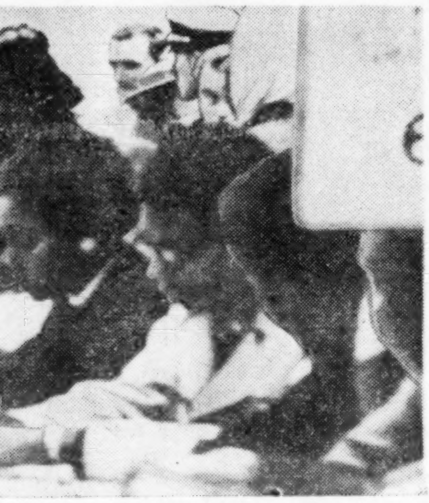
KKK: A TEXAS BRAND
In retaliation for the sitdowns

NASHVILLE POLICE SEEMED TO MISS THE MESSAGE
They went into church to arrest student leader Rev. James Lawson Jr.



A WHITE STUDENT WHO JOINED THE SITDOWN
. . at a Nashville lunch counter was taunted by racists as a "nigger lover." When he refused to acknowledge their insults, one white youth yanked him from his seat and beat him. But the white demonstrator, dedicated to non-violence, refused to strike back . . .

on a crusade



NSTRATIONS BEGAN ON FEB. 1

THOUSANDS OF STUDENTS DEMONSTRATED OUTSIDE NASHVILLE CITY COURT AS OTHERS WERE ON TRIAL INSIDE

on campus and arrested 36 students and one faculty member at a meeting at Alabama State College. Gov. John Patterson ordered an investigation of the school with an eye toward closing it after Police Commissioner L. B. Sullivan reported that faculty members were "unable to control the students."

Rev. King appealed in a telegram on March 9 to President Eisenhower "to intervene by instructing the Attorney General to take immediate action in your name to restore law and order" in Montgomery. King said police were inhibiting "the holding of meetings and religious services." President Eisenhower has not yet answered.

Contributions to help the students may be sent to the Montgomery Student Scholarship Fund, c/o Montgomery Improvement Assn., 530 S. Union St., Montgomery, Ala.

These are some of the other communities in which protests have occurred:

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa, Birmingham.

TENNESSEE: Nashville, Chattanooga.

NORTH CAROLINA: Winston - Salem, Greensboro, Durham, Henderson, Shelby, Fayetteville, Monroe, Raleigh, Concord, Chapel Hill, Charlotte, High Point.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Orangeburg, Columbia, Denmark, Greenville, Rock Hill, Florence, Sumpter.

VIRGINIA: Richmond, Suffolk, Portsmouth, Hampton.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee, Tampa, Miami, Pensacola, St. Petersburg, Deland, Daytona Beach, Sarasota.

ARKANSAS: Little Rock.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans.

WHITE SUPPORT: In many of the demonstrations white students have joined; in some, white passersby have whispered encouragement to Negro pickets. Even in Birmingham, Ala., ruled by Police chief Eugene "Bull" Connor, who built a reputation for rough treatment of Negroes, the Pittsburgh **Courier** reported that white students from Birmingham Southern met secretly with Negroes from Miles College to plan joint action.

In the North, white youth in scores of communities have joined picket lines organized by the NAACP outside Woolworth and Kress stores. In some places whites took the lead.

In Philadelphia, Youth Against Segregation circulated this petition: "We, the undersigned, pledge to buy nothing from an F. W. Woolworth store anywhere until the management of the national chain stores orders all of its stores everywhere to serve and seat any customer without regard to race or color."

DETERMINATION: The threat of boycott seems to worry Southern businessmen. The **Wall Street Journal** reported March 14: "One Woolworth unit [in Durham, N.C.] that normally does about 50% of its business with Negroes has been partially deserted in recent days."

Some Southern stores have relented and now serve all customers. But most have continued jimcrow practices with police help or have closed their lunch counters. They seem to be waiting for new developments.

Rev. King predicted last week: "The Negro is determined to be free and the sitdown demonstrations will continue until victory is reached." A South-wide youth leadership conference on non-violent resistance has been called for April 15-17 by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

o

The "winner" stands over his victim—over a man who would not fight.

SYMPATHY LINES IN NORTH

Left: Ernest Green, first Negro graduate of Little Rock's Central High and now a student at Michigan State U., leads a line in East Lansing, Mich. Above: Students in Madison, Wis. Right: High school students outside a Woolworth store in Brooklyn.

NORTHAMPTON, MASS.: STUDENTS FROM EXCLUSIVE SMITH COLLEGE

THE STUDENT COUNCIL AT CCNY SPONSORED THIS LINE

Students from other colleges joined, too. A dozen Woolworth stores were picketed in New York and several upstate.

AN EXCLUSIVE GUARDIAN INTERVIEW

Rev. Shuttlesworth: 'Price of freedom is high'

By Fred Fry II
Special to the Guardian

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

REV. FRED L. SHUTTLESWORTH, leader of the integration movement in Birmingham, Ala., is one of the most important men in America. He heads a determined movement to wipe out all segregation barriers in what many observers have called the toughest jimcrow city in the country. And many believe that if he succeeds in this center of coal, steel and racism the days of resistance for the rest of the South will be numbered.

Rev. Shuttlesworth carries his great responsibility with becoming ease. A surprisingly young man (he is not yet 30), he was alternately witty, colorful, militant and reflective as he welcomed me in his small and unpretentious home and discussed the work of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights.

The ACMHR was formed in 1956, after the State of Alabama outlawed the NAACP. Only a few years earlier Rev. Shuttlesworth had graduated from Alabama State College with the highest academic record in the school's 78-year history. He chose the ministry as a career and was one of several young Negro ministers who emerged as leaders of local integration movements on the heels of the historic Montgomery bus boycott.

THEY WILL, THEY WILL: Since 1956 Rev. Shuttlesworth has been trying to have a reasonable discussion with Birmingham officials on questions of discrimination. But, he pointed out, the city government is venal and reactionary and has pointedly refused to sit down and talk with Negro delegations on any subject whatever. His eyes brightened as he added: "Sooner or later they will, they will."

The press is just as bad. "They usually ignore us altogether," he said. "We have no voice at all in their columns. When they do mention us, they misquote and distort what we say, what our aims and objectives are." Rev. Shuttlesworth painted a picture of the Negro people standing alone, with no open support from the white people of the city or from the labor movement.

Despite these obstacles, the young minister was brimming with optimism and plans for the future. "The law is on our side now," he said. "We know who will win the ultimate victory." Negroes in Birmingham have recently won the right to sit unsegregated on city buses. Other integration suits are in the courts. Rev. Shuttlesworth indicated that whenever local judges throw out one case another complaint will be ready to be filed.

WON'T LEAVE: He felt the anti-Negro terror in Birmingham was beginning to abate because "they have found they cannot destroy us, so they are beginning reluctantly to tolerate our existence." When his home was wrecked by a dynamite blast in 1956 some of his friends urged him to leave town within 24 hours. "But," he said, "I told them no. The fact that I had escaped the blast convinced me I had a mission to lead the struggle of the Negro people in Birmingham for equality. I may die in this city, but I shall always fight for the principles in which I believe. They will never drive me out."

Several times Rev. Shuttlesworth scathingly attacked the "communist bugaboo." He remarked that Carl Braden, the Southern Conference Educational Fund field secretary who was prosecuted for helping a Negro buy a home in a lily-white Louisville development, was an overnight guest at his home recently. Laughing, he said that city officials had threatened dire consequences if he allowed "that notorious Red" to stay in his home—a threat which he pointedly ignored. "And you know," he said, "they didn't do a thing."

One point Rev. Shuttlesworth drove home with emphasis: "Negroes don't want to dominate the whites. The white race has made a considerable contribution to the world. They have brought living standards up. The problem is that the whites don't understand the black people, who have an equal contribution to make. We can help purify democracy. We know the disadvantages of being deprived of democratic rights."

In answer to a series of prepared questions, Rev. Shuttlesworth responded as follows:

Q.—What is the ACMHR doing to combat the systematic campaign of terror directed against Negroes by the police, the KKK and the Citizens' Council?

A.—Let me answer in several parts:

(1) The ACMHR embodies the determination of the Negro people as a whole to resist segregation. When people are determined, and act to show it, it's a basic sign of progress.

(2) The ACMHR is a source of fellowship among Negroes. We meet together, and plan retaliation against terrorist acts. But we do not advocate violence. I personally discourage violence. It's not destruction we want, it's construction.

(3) Terror has helped us to challenge segregation openly. These terrible acts prove that what Eastland and others say is a living lie. If segregation is so good, why bomb us, why fire us from our jobs, why remove us from the buses?

(4) It has made the Negro more aware of what is going on—has aroused him to throw off traditional apathy. The Negro has proved his determination to take it. We have proved that you can suffer for something. Just don't strike back violently. Keep in mind that this is a fight between right and wrong, not between white and black.

Q.—What is the significance of the attempts being made to link integration and communism?

A.—These Southern politicians are silly men in a civilized age. The average Southern politician doesn't know what Communism is. If it takes Communism to bring about freedom, this means democracy is nothing. I think they'll start toning this "Red" angle down soon.

Q.—You have been beaten, cursed and threatened for advocating integration. What is your reaction to this?

A.—It's the price of freedom. If we've been willing to pay such a price, it shows that the things we seek are glorious. Democracy is worth suffering for if it's worth living in.

REV. FRED L. SHUTTLESWORTH
"They cannot destroy us"

Q.—Few if any local whites have openly supported the Negro struggle. Do you contemplate any change in this?

A.—The fight is basically ours to win. We might get some help later. There are liberal whites who would like to join us, but at present they dare not. The Citizens Council has stated that it will drive any white man out of Alabama who advocates integration. And they can do it, too.

Q.—What are the ACMHR's plans for future action on the civil rights front?

A.—I think it's all in the brochure. [The ACMHR has recently issued a brochure which tells of the struggle for integration in Birmingham, and lists a program of future action which includes action against "discrimination in public employment, against segregation in facilities for interstate travel, against bus segregation, against school segregation, and against general intimidation . . ."]. I might add this. We will support any legitimate attempts to overthrow discrimination anywhere and everywhere.

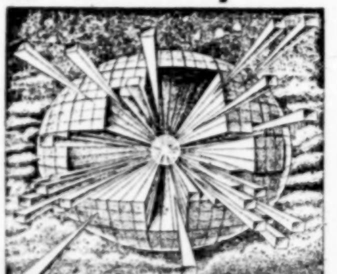
Q.—White supremacists dominate the Birmingham labor movement. Is the ACMHR doing anything to combat this? Furthermore, what effect will unionization of the South have upon the fight for civil rights?

A.—Unfortunately, we are not directly engaged in the labor movement, though many of us are laboring men. The AFL-CIO will have to get around sometime, somewhere, to make their weight felt. They can do it, but unity between white and Negro workers is very ineffective in the South at present.

Q.—What, in your opinion, is the key to victory for the civil rights movement?

A.—One: The unrelenting, uncompromising belief in, and will to fight for, complete freedom without reservation. There's no doubt we're going to win, because we've proved we can win. Two: Organization without fear. Three: There must be coordination between those who fight for civil rights and those who fight for civil liberties. We shouldn't be dupes on this Red issue. We shouldn't let superpatriots who are so abjectly biased and stupid point out who we should work with, talk with, associate with. If democracy is what Eastland and Talmadge say it is, then America will not have its role of leadership much longer.

CO-CENTERING As The Basis of World Order and Stability



CO-EXISTENCE *is not possible without* CO-CENTERING *(symbolized by the pyramid on the U.S. dollar bill).* CO-CENTERING *is the key to solving individual, national, and world-wide social, economic, and political problems . . . to leadership and conquest without war.*

WHAT IS CO-CENTERING? Co-centering is the individual alignment of plans, activities, accomplishments, possessions toward improving upon and completing personal, national, and world-wide structural and functional *wholeness of life* **. . . establishing among all a vital connection in values, utilities and meanings.**

As indicated previously, discord-free functioning, whether of machines, buildings, or human bodies, is achieved as fully developed parts, bricks, boards, beams, cells and organs are co-centered in the functional units of which each is a part. This principle of CO-CENTERING applies, without exception, to every aspect of social, economic, and political activities and resources. As every drop of water adds to its volume, so every co-centered accomplishment adds to individual, national, and world-being and stability.

THE LARGER the life to which we co-center, the more permanently enriching and satisfying are our accomplishments and living.

Primitive man was self-centered. In marriage we co-center to the wholeness of the family. The great men and women of the past co-centered their efforts toward improving national and world life . . . they became resourceful, wise, and great.

Today, vast amounts of technical and scientific skills, knowledge and equipment are largely idle. In order to release their virtually unlimited usefulness, we must co-center—tie them— to the development of our individual, national and world life. In such co-centering we need not change our professions, trades, or concepts of life, we need only to give our properties a proper direction and active relationship in a larger life.

IN THIS WAY CO-CENTERING will open for us many new opportunities to exercise our individual initiative, converting the present exploitative competition merely to survive into a creative one, adding more to life than we take from it . . . and thereby reducing the expenditure of living.

Every individual and nation is intended to contribute toward human wholeness. Among nations, Russia and the United States, especially, are destined to make significant yet different contributions toward the evolution of human wholeness. The United States is to bring human unity and wholeness to its highest level.

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BOOKS

The strength of men

Dr. Uphaus is imprisoned in Merrimack Co. jail at Boscawen, N.H., for refusing to divulge to the state's attorney general in 1954 the guest list of World Fellowship camp at North Conway. An appeal in Dr. Uphaus' behalf is now under consideration by the New Hampshire Supreme Court. In another proceeding growing out of the same 1954 inquiry, into alleged subversive activities in the state, decision in the case of Hugo De Gregory, also facing imprisonment for refusing to answer questions, has been postponed for 30 days to await the Supreme Court's decision on the Uphaus case. Dr. Uphaus is a noted Methodist layman, a pacifist, and leader in many activities for peace. Prof. William Ernest Hocking, whose recent book he reviews this week, is the 86-year-old Harvard philosopher who has made his home in New Hampshire for many years.

WILLIAM ERNEST HOCKING'S **Strength of Men and Nations*** is a wonderful book to read in solitude. It increases my faith in capturing true freedom, and the faith that men, worthy of freedom, can take control of their destiny. This compelling volume is filled with deep insights that flow from a philosophic mind fully equipped to interpret our present national and world situation. Every one of these insights—milestones—has a direct bearing on resolving conflicts between nations and an emerging fulfillment for all peoples.

Let me quote just a few:

"No nation or power can forcibly and lastingly impose an ideology on a people."

"As between divergent national purposes of any two nations there are fundamental identities which no oppositions obliterate."

"It is the integrated man, moral and political, who must give laws to the economic man, not the economic man to the whole man."

"Whatever the form of government . . . the ultimate ruling power is the drive of human nature for full humanity."

"The suffering of the world must become a shared suffering."

PROFESSOR HOCKING'S work helps this reviewer at three important points. First, it is encouraging to have one's long-held faith in peace through coexistence, even through coaction, strengthened. He formulates theory for a third type of diplomacy which rejects both rigidity and appeasement and seeks common goods and aims accepted by the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. This demands an understanding, on both sides, of historical backgrounds and motives, the recognition of "the folk of any state" as its substance, and a feeling for them not as "a combat force" but as people "with their own peculiar rememberings, customs, purposes, energies."

As far as our side of a rapprochement is concerned, Professor Hocking finds us weak in education and the fine arts so that we have difficulty in pouring "a living civilization, ours in the U.S.A., into new vessels," and therefore in understanding our world role. We have long roots in history. If we have lost connection with these, how can we muster the historic perspective to interpret other revolutions and the forces that flow from them?

IN A POWERFUL SECTION on our double morality the author deals with the problem of group and national conflicts. Throughout history man has been faced with hard choices between "the lower" and "the higher." We have a "morality" for our family, and a different one for our neighbors; a "morality" for our group, our class, and a different one for other groups, other classes. The "enemy" is synonymous with the "evil one." The man who suffers through the painful process of understanding that personal precepts press toward universality, says Hocking, "is the only promising world citizen." "Thou shalt not kill thy kinsman" seems to work toward "Thou shalt not kill any human being." In the world of today the welfare of one is involved in the welfare of all. World consciousness is an important part of our equipment to work for peace.

Secondly, the secret of the strength of men and nations is the experience of participation in planning and executing the life of the immediate and the world community. In a democracy, government by the people is more difficult than government of the people or for the people.

"The whole point of democracy," says the author, "is that we, the people, consent to the method, participate in it, and with good will abide by the result." Government by the people depends upon **esprit de corps,** and a common agreement on what is good for all. Certain rights inhere in a government by the people—the right of inner freedom of thought and conscience, the right of self-expression, the right to criticize, the right to know so that political judgments may be formed. Underlying is the purpose of **unfolding human powers;** and the one and only absolute moral right is the right to become a whole man. As one becomes a participating person in the national community, so the national community becomes a participating force in the world community, exercising power with and not over others. As for nations, the hope of peace rests in a pulling together of powers toward a proposed end.

Dyad, London Daily Worker

"Who wrote 'Peace' on the wall?"

IT IS HOCKING'S FAITH that with a patient interplay of thought and action, with changing motives, there follows a converging of interests, not to a political world state but a world of plural nations working together. In this respect the UN is vital, since the acceptance of co-membership by the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. implies a willingness to let their world-missions interpenetrate.

This interpenetration takes more than military or diplomatic equipment; it takes feeling. The lack of feeling leads to calling a state or an "ism" white or black, or setting communism and capitalism over against each other rigidly. We have in the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. rather a pluralistic vs. a collective pattern of liberty. In the U.S.S.R., "the wider liberties of the citizens are drawn into the pattern of the economic process." With us, "liberty lights first on individual destinies and choices." Given freedom from the fear of external hostility and the extension of cultural relations in many forms, the U.S.S.R. will undergo a change. We on our part need more social discipline and a sense of national purpose.

Finally, **Strength of Men and Nations** faces the problem of the nature of reality and our relationship to it. If the book were the basis of a series of conferences at World Fellowship I could see our World Fellowship family, above average in intellectual acumen, in essential agreement until we came to the closing section on the "Moral Dilemmas of Peace." Here there might be a friendly parting of the ways, since the author finds Marxism with its philosophic materialism not adequate for the quest. To him there is an infinite, a "call of the whole to the parts which gives the human **telos** the dignity of cosmic destiny."

But the author, a passionate lover of aspiring man, would find a way to resolve conflicts in the interest of peace. He would be harsh with religionists who reject fellowship with those who hold there "is nothing beyond physical nature and the material furnishings of life." He would remind them that it is never sufficient to refute the deepest persuasions of another mind. Both must find an ultimate authority—experience. Besides, he would argue that there are few atheists in the world, even among those who call themselves such. We can join in experiencing a physical world common to all of us and become aware of a "**Thou** whose co-presence lends to one's solitary experience the quality of universality." It is up to each to define for himself the reality—the "Thou" that gives meaning to life.

The only genuine atheist, Hocking concludes, is the man who believes that there are gulfs between "right" men and "wrong" men so great that no bridge can be thrown across them.

Here, if I may be a bit vain about World Fellowship, is the basis of that ineffable association that goes deeper than the particular conceptual systems of the dedicated people who seek world peace. After all, to quote Tennyson, is there not more faith in honest doubts than in half our creeds? Whatever it is that binds us together is universal. The whole of humanity is groping toward this experience of togetherness.

—**Willard Uphaus**

**STRENGTH OF MEN AND NATIONS, by William Ernest Hocking. Harper & Bros., N.Y. 248 pp. $3.50.*

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BEN-GURION WANTS THE MIDDLE EAST ON THE SUMMIT AGENDA

Why Arab-Israel tension is continuing

Isreali Premier David Ben-Gurion arrived in the U.S. on March 8, delivered an address at Brandeis University, held a two-hour talk with President Eisenhower and conferred with State Dept. officials. Before flying to London and Paris to meet with Prime Minister Macmillan and President de Gaulle, he also talked with Bonn's Chancellor Adenauer, who came to Washington on March 12.

After a two-hour private meeting, a West German press officer read a statement to the press saying that Adenauer promised "mutual cooperation with and support for Israel," which he hoped "will continue to bear fruit in the future." It was not disclosed whether the two leaders had reached any decision on establishing formal diplomatic relations between their countries.

Arab diplomats in Washington registered with the State Dept. their "deep concern" over Ben-Gurion's visit. They said it was "likely to create consequences detrimental to Arab-American relations." In some places the Premier visited, Arab students appeared with signs: "Palestine will be Arab again" and "Zionist propaganda is deceiving the American people."

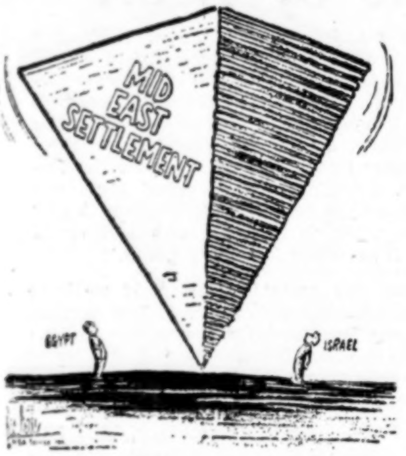
At Brandeis University Ben-Gurion said:

"We are few, and few shall remain; our country is small and small it always will be, though I hope we shall succeed in expanding its economic capacity."

His visit revealed that his purpose was to explore all avenues to strengthen Israel's economic and military position; to impress on Washington that Soviet arms supplies to Arab countries, in his view, threatened Middle East peace; to solicit U.S. support for lifting the Suez blockade against Israel-bound ships; and to warn against Soviet economic penetration of underdeveloped countries all over the world.

He was especially interested in promoting a thorough Summit discussion of Middle East problems and to line up strong support for Israel's viewpoint. In the light of the increasing exposure of Nazis in the Adenauer Administration and de Gaulle's latest statements on Algerian freedom, however, Ben-Gurion's venture into personal diplomacy with these two leaders may not be appreciated in most Asian-African lands or in his own country.

In the following article, GUARDIAN staff correspondent Ursula Wassermann analyzes the causes behind the increased border tension and describes the situation as it prevails today.



By Ursula Wassermann
Guardian staff correspondent

TEL AVIV

THE TENSION here has again subsided, at least temporarily. After the alarming recent headlines—"Egyptian Army Massed in Northern Sinai"—tempers have cooled and the droning of planes overhead is reduced to a minimum.

Prime Minister Ben-Gurion's announcement of his visit to the United States brought relaxation to Israelis.

The general feeling was that if the Old Man could leave the country at a time like that, things couldn't be so bad.

Israelis are so tired of continuous crises that few take them seriously now until the guns actually start firing. Mobilization was very limited and the general feeling was that this was a phoney crisis artificially engineered by both sides, anxious to drum up support outside the region.

THE CAUSES: The facts, as far as they can be pieced together, are:

Lines of comunication in the Sinai peninsula, destroyed during the 1956 campaign, have been restored to the point of permitting the Egyptians to move their forces into customary positions. Under normal circumstances, this would not necessarily cause alarm, but circumstances here have never been normal since 1948 and any troop movement, however routine it might appear to an outsider, causes alarm.

In addition, work on the Jordan River project was about to be started and it was feared that certain United Arab Republic forces, concentrated on the Syrian-Israel border, were there for the purpose of interfering with the project which is vital to Israel's entire economy. To forestall any intervention, the Israelis started crying "wolf" before rather than after the shooting started—a dangerous precedent.

Diplomatic observers here believe that the creation of a crisis atmosphere was also intended to put Israel's case once more before world public opinion and force negotiations on a higher level. Since de Gaulle failed in having the Middle East included in the Summit agenda, it is now believed that the real purpose of Ben-Gurion's American trip is to try—through direct talks as well as indirect pressure—to have Israel's case put before the Big Four at the Paris meeting in May.

THE DANGER: The Arab states, in turn, have their own axe to grind and while President Nasser has denounced the 1950 Tripartite Declaration, he presumably would not be averse to a new four-power commitment, with Russia joining the Western Powers in guaranteeing the stability of the region. The cry of Israel aggression might persuade the Soviet Union, which in any case has no objections to discussing the Middle East, to press for a Summit debate.

With trouble brewing in Syria, with the continued animosity between Egypt and Iraq, and with the Arab League Council unable to agree on a "Palestine" solution, Nasser's warlike speeches had to be matched by a certain show of force.

The deadly serious issue in this situation is, of course, that with two opposing armies at close range, no one can ever be sure where bluff and bluster ends and shooting begins. A trigger-happy officer on either side may fire the shot that will spark off a war.

ISRAEL'S YOUTH: Another danger lies in the generally prevailing attitude here, especially among the youth, that nothing has ever been achieved except by force. They point to the Sinai Campaign which, they claim, opened the road to Africa and Asia by consolidating Israel's position in the Gulf of Aqaba, and kept Israel's borders quiet for three solid years—or at least much quieter than they had ever been.

"Whatever we have tried to achieve through diplomatic means," a young army captain—who, out of uniform, is the gentlest and kindest of young scientists—said, "has failed miserably. The only successes we have had are those achieved on our own by sheer strength of force."

It is hard to counter these arguments on moral grounds when the facts so tragically prove him right. This belief in force as the final arbiter can be shaken only by the restoration of faith in international agreements.

Looking at the continued blockade of the Suez Canal, the acceptance of the Arab boycott on the part of the Western Powers, and the general indifference shown toward small nations, Israel's youth cannot be entirely blamed for being cynical. In the interest of peace in the Middle East, wise counsel would call for negotiations on the highest level.

Soviet 'Cranes Are Flying' in New York March 21

THE NEW YORK PREMIERE of **The Cranes Are Flying**, first Soviet movie to be shown in the U.S. under the auspices of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. cultural exchange agreement, will take place at 8:30 p.m., Monday, March 21 at the Fine Arts Theater, 130 W. 58th St.

Grand Prize winner at the Cannes Film Festival, **The Cranes Are Flying** is being distributed by Warner Bros. at the request of the State Dept.

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Sun. March 27 3:30 p.m.

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NEW YORK

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Richard Garza,
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THE GALLERY

THEY LAUGHED at President Eisenhower at the Washington airport on his return from Latin America. According to the New York **Times**: "The President got his facts and faces mixed. He asked the House minority leader Rep. Charles A. Halleck of Indiana: 'You got that filibuster broken yet?' The question got a laugh all along the receiving line, since it is in the Senate that the effort is being made to delay bringing the civil rights bill to a final vote." . . . Pacifist Ken Putnam tore down all the recruiting posters from the bulletin boards in Pennsylvania's Haverford College. He replaced them with an ad for volunteers for GLEE (General Lethal Engineering Enterprises). It asked for engineers, mathematicians and scientists to research "how to achieve greater genocidal efficiency per defense dollar." The inducements included: "Quick advancement when older men retire to monasteries or lose security clearance." And "comfortable housing conveniently located near churches, psychiatrists and the FBI." It concluded: "Send requests for brochure together with loyalty oath, celibacy oath and sobriety oath." . . . The March issue of **New World Review** announces an essay contest for persons 18-25 on "A Peace Program for Our Country." First prize is $200; second prize, $100; third prize, $50; honorable mentions, $15. Full information may be obtained from the magazine at 34 W. 15th St., New York . . . Professor Irwin Corey notes: "Only in America could a Jew become Lord Mayor of Dublin."

OF 800 YOUTHS questioned by the Gilbert Youth Research Co. on how they felt about exchange visits between heads of states, 82% favored the visits, 14% opposed and the rest had no opinion. Eighty per cent of the youth thought Khrushchev's visit here helped world peace. The leaders they would like to come here were, in order: De Gaulle, Nehru, Castro. Fifty-five per cent favored inviting Chou

Cincinnati Enquirer

En-lai. . . . Dr. Martin Hamburger of New York University reported that a survey conducted among 10,000 high school students from the fall of 1952 to the spring of 1958 "shows that a disturbingly large minority of American high school students lack understanding or appreciation of democratic principles." Queried on basic principles in the Bill of Rights, he said, 34% of the youth said they would abolish the right to circulate petitions; 37% would not object to third-degree police methods and 43% favored curbs on free speech or were undecided on the issue. Thirty-four per cent opposed school integration. But 62% of Southern high school students interviewed agreed with this statement: "To make our country truly democratic, we must eventually end segregation in the public school." . . . The Gear Clashers Hot Rod Club in New York, made up of eight young men aged 18 to 23, in order to overcome the bad publicity about young drivers, decided to spend Lincoln's Birthday cruising the Belt Parkway looking for disabled cars to help without charge. But when a story of the club's plan appeared in a local paper, the Park Dept. filed a complaint because the project would "infringe on the rights" of the towing companies. A department official commented: "You can't have kids driving all over the road trying to help people."

DR. A. V. NAPALKOV, Soviet physician, tells how to handle emotional tension in an interview in **Northern Neighbor**. He scoffs at suggestions to "avoid stress." He says "you can use tension to relieve many common mental and nervous troubles." How? By "switching tensions" or "changing strains." It's an old Pavlovian discovery, he says. The best thing for a tired person to do, he says, is not to "get away from it all," but to "go out and get really excited." **Northern Neighbor** adds: "Of course, there's much more to it than that." The system might be called: A Napalkov a day . . . The Vatican newspaper **L'Osservatore Romano** attacked the Italian government for refusing to ban a film, **The Sweet Life**, in which Anita Ekberg does a striptease. It's doubtful that the protest is a publicity scheme for the movie, but this smells fishy: Miss Ekberg sued an Italian magazine for charging her "with systematically indulging in adultery." The publisher of the magazine is the producer of her film . . . A ten-year study of humor among mentally ill by two Yale Medical School psychologists concluded: If you don't laugh it up once in a while, you may be sicker than you think.

—**Robert E. Light**

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THE LATE AFTERNOON SUN made a lacy pattern on the ground before me. The town of Central Espana was quiet. It was a pretty area, red flowers against yellow buildings and well-kept lawns and shrubbery all around. It was hard in this setting to grasp the meaning of the words of the Army captain: "Part of the body fell through the tree here. The engine landed here," and he pointed to a patch of burned grass on an island in the middle of the street in front of the sugar mill.

Several children had gathered and a little boy said, "Come, I show you." The Army captain beckoned, pointed to a bush: "The front of the body landed here." The group of children called from across the street. "Come." They led us through a yard to a yellow stucco house with a black tile roof. A woman sat on the porch rocking unconcernedly. During the past week a lot of people had walked across her lawn—one had gone through her roof.

Our guides pointed to the spot on the roof where the second man from the plane had plummeted through. The roof had been mended already.

When we returned to the street a larger crowd had gathered to watch the Americans inspect the scene where another American had died so ingloriously more than a week before.

PEOPLE CROWDED around us as we stood discussing the incident beneath the tree—100 yards from the sugar mill, Central Espana's largest industry.

"They tried to bomb the sugar mill," someone said. "They wanted to hurt the revolution."

The crowd of about 50 now was made up mainly of men, young and old. Some of the faces looked angry. This was a different group from crowds we had been in before. There were smiles, but they were taunting smiles. "Why does the U.S. government let the planes take off from Florida?"

"The government said the plane escaped radar detection," we answered. Someone laughed. An older man said, "How can you spot Russian missiles if you miss a plane that leaves Florida?"

From the edge of the crowd someone said: "Why do you support your government's policy?"

"The U.S. government doesn't send bombs over Central Espana," we said.

"Why doesn't it stop them? Why don't you protest? Why doesn't your government send the Batista men back for justice? Why do U.S. newspapers print lies about the Revolution?"

"We will write the truth," we said.

"Write the bad as well as the good," the Army captain said.

We began to talk about the militia. "Do you have guns?" we asked. "Here," they said, pushing a young man forward. He had a revolver stuck in the front of his trousers. He had just returned from a patrol. He looked very young. He was 18.

Two men came by in a jeep with a machine gun in the back which now guards Central Espana against planes. They were also returning from a patrol.

ALMOST EVERY MAN in Central Espana and many of the women belong to the militia now. The people and the towns must be protected, but the sugar, it is the sugar that is important. The crop is being harvested and refined now. It is the time of the "Zafra," the sugar harvest—the most important time of the year.

All over Cuba people are thinking of sugar and of sabotage in cane fields, of planes and of bombs. In some places—in Havana, in Cardenas, in Varadero—people blamed the U.S. government for the planes. But in Central Espana people made little distinction between the government and the American people and despite the presence of our Army captain friend we faced a hostile crowd. As we got into our car to leave one young man leaned in and yelled, "No more planes!"

THOUGH IT IS A COUNTRY which feels the threat of war, which faces periodic bombings, this is a country full of confidence. There is an amazing lack of tension and a warmth toward the visitor which constantly surprises me. I am often mistaken for a Cubana, and when I correct the mistake I get a smile of welcome, and a friendly question-and-answer session follows. But despite the friendliness—having been corrected a few times—I have taken to calling myself a "norteamericano." For U.S. citizens to be called "Americans" is too much a reminder of the old "yanqui" imperialism.

This is a country of gaiety and fun. For the past three weekends Cubans have been celebrating a Mardi Gras-like Carnival with parades on Saturdays and Sundays and dancing in the streets. Huge nonsense floats and gay costumes passed in review yesterday for eight hours while thousands lined the streets. Everyone danced as the mambo bands passed, everyone laughed at the seven-foot tall dolls that swayed behind truck loads of families, neighbors, school children. "Locos pero contentos"—"Crazy but happy" one slogan said. "With Fidel, yesterday, tomorrow, and always," said another. "Agrarian reform or death," said one. "For those who don't like chicken" was the banner on a huge frying pan full of laughing girls. Stickers on cars read: "Second Carnival of Free Cuba."

This is a country which has tasted freedom and likes it. There is a determination to keep it. The Army captain friend who escorted us to a rice cooperative and to Central Espana is an Army man for the duration. He will stay in the Army, he said, until there is no more danger. He is in charge of a district including five towns and two factories. He is a farmer's son from Oriente. He is 28 years old. He has prison, rebel warfare and little ease behind him. But the future is his.

—Joanne Grant